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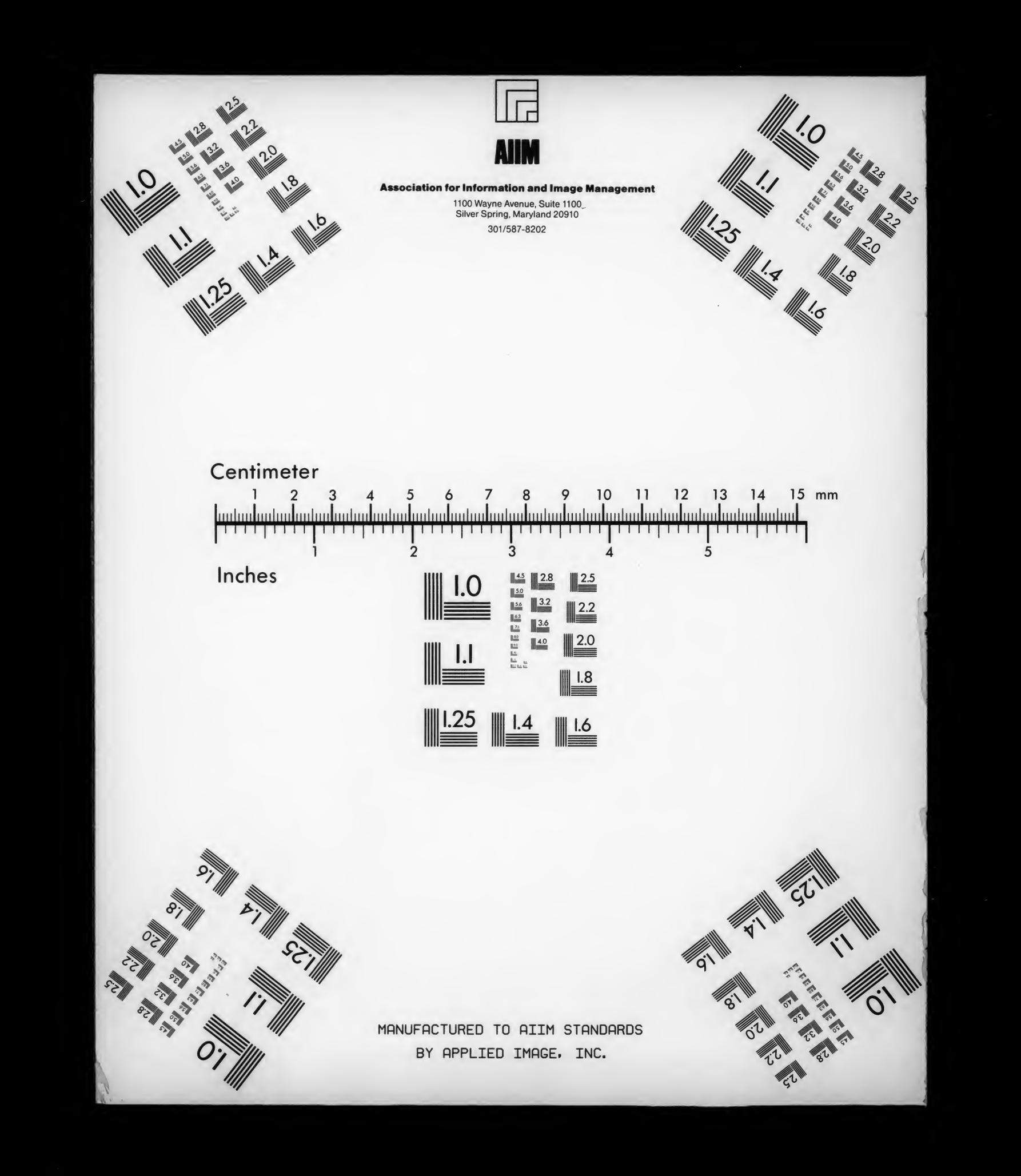
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CERTAIN NUMERALS IN THE GREEK DRAMATIC HYPOTHESES

BY ROY C. FLICKINGER

It is well known that the ancients designated the productions of the great Greek dramatists by numbers. The remains of this system, however, are scanty, being confined to the following items: arg. Soph. *Antigone:* λέλεκται δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦτο τριακοστὸν δεύτερον; arg. Eurip. *Alcestis:* τὸ δρᾶμα ἐποιήθη ιζ̄; arg. I Aristoph. *Aves:* ἔστι δὲ λέ;[1] and Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* IV, p. 71:

Διονυσ[αλεξανδρος
η
Κρατ[ινου.

Inasmuch as these numerals have become known one at a time, discussion of the subject has been perennial, and ought, one would think, to have yielded a definite conclusion ere now. But such has not been the case. The meaning of these figures and the principle underlying the system are still far from being matters concerning which general agreement has been secured. On the

[1] Omitted in R and E; G reads ἔστι λε̄. I have kindly been permitted to examine in proof this portion of Professor White's edition of the *Aves* scholia, where it is pointed out that the current statement (Dindorf, Dübner, Blaydes, Hall and Geldart, Van Leeuwen) that this phrase is not found in V, is incorrect. Blaydes (IV, p. 3) would delete the words; but this is wrong method, since they are the *lectio difficilior*. In other words, it is much easier to understand how a scribe might accidentally, or because he did not understand it, even purposely omit the item than how it crept in, if it did not belong there. Fritzsche (*Quaest. Aristoph.* I, p. 178) believes it a corruption of εἰς δὲ Λήναια (!).

contrary, we are in a period of skepticism on the subject. Wilamowitz has rejected all interpretations alike,[1] and it is significant that the authors of the articles on Aristophanes and Euripides in Pauly-Wissowa did not deem it worth their while even to mention these numbers.

The discussion of the matter has greatly suffered from being conducted (for the most part) by means of brief notices in the periodicals or of such notes as the editors of the three (extant) plays in question could find room for. And the latter have usually contented themselves with suggesting the most plausible interpretation of the text before them without considering the other instances. Of course, it is conceivable that the numbers were not uniformly derived or that their arrangement was a purely arbitrary one; and in that case its recovery would now be neither possible nor, if possible, particularly valuable. However, the recent addition of the *Dionysalexandros* numeral to those previously known has seemed to me to warrant another attempt to discover whether they are not capable of a uniform explanation.

So far only one solution of the *Dionysalexandros* numeral has been proposed. Körte would refer it to an alphabetical arrangement.[2] Ranke[3] had made this suggestion for the *Aves* numeral long ago, and Wex[4] brought it forward again after the publication of the *Alcestis* numeral in 1834. This last instance is the most plausible one for the theory, since among Euripides' extant titles

[1] *Einleitung in die griech. Tragödie* (*Heracles*, Vol. I, 1st ed.), p. 150, note 55: "Zwei notizen scheinen darauf zu führen, dass die tragödien auch eine laufende nummer führten, in der hypothesis der Alkestis . . . . und in der der Antigone . . . . aber sie haben sich bisher jeder deutung entzogen." *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 133: "Opinantur sane vulgo, propter ἐποιήθη illud potissimum, numeris illis quota fabula a poeta conscripta sit indicari, et quoniam uterque numerus opinioni repugnat, corrigunt eum donec congruat aut abiciunt . . . . et Aristophanes (sc. Byzantius) . . . . ordinis cuiusdam, cuius rationem ignoramus, numerum etiam in Alcestide indicaverit." *Ibid.*, p. 143: "Obvia coniectura est, hunc ordinem ab eo (sc. Aristophane Byzantio) indicari, sed ad liquidum perduci nequit." Van Leeuwen in his edition of the *Birds* (p. 3, n. 4) accepts this conclusion. Of course, Wilamowitz was not the first to advocate it, cf. Schneider *De veterum in Aristophanem scholiorum fontibus* (1838), p. 53: "Immo confitendum est in posterum quoque tempus idem incognitum mansurum esse, donec plura et certiora testimonia fuerint reperta." Bergk (*Meineke* II, p. 1000) cites Schneider with approval.

[2] Cf. *Hermes* XXXIX (1904), pp. 484 f.

[3] Cf. *De vita Aristophanis*, p. cccxiv (prefixed to Thiersch's edition, 1830).

[4] Cf. *Rhein. Museum* II (1843), pp. 147 f.

fifteen begin with alpha and it is by no means impossible that the same letter introduced enough of the lost titles so that, by coming at the very end of the alphas, the *Alcestis* might have been seventeenth. Wex thought to strengthen his case by citing the fact that such an alphabetical catalogue appears on the back of the Villa Albani statue of Euripides.[1] This, however, was a most unfortunate move on his part. The Villa Albani list is not complete, containing only thirty-six plays; nevertheless thirteen of them begin with alpha and the *Alcestis* stands in the first place!

Nor does the *Dionysalexandros* instance lend itself easily to this explanation. Although Cratinus was credited with only twenty-one plays in antiquity, Meineke and Kock admitted fragments from twenty-six plays into their collections under his name. Accepting this whole list, although five of them must be rejected and at least one or two of the five are a priori likely to come from the first third and although both Meineke and Kock did in fact challenge the *Bousiris*, we yet find only seven names beginning with alpha, beta, gamma, and delta. In order to get an eighth play Körte has to count the Διόνυσοι, although that is probably a mere *Verschreiben* for Διονυσαλέξανδρος.[2]

The *Antigone* numeral is still less probable. In our almost complete list of Sophocles' titles only twenty-three (two of which are spurious) have alpha as their initial letter. For the *Antigone* to be thirty-second, practically every lost title would have to begin with alpha and the *Antigone* stand at the very end of the plays listed under that letter. But neither supposition is likely, though, in favor of the second, it must be granted that the ancients did not arrange alphabetical lists with such strictness as do moderns and, in particular, seem commonly to have disregarded all letters except the initial. But the fact that in all three instances so far considered this theory necessitates arbitrarily placing the plays in question at the very end of those beginning with the same initial adds cumulative weight to the objection.

The remaining number (that of the *Aves*) is just as unfavorable. All the titles of Aristophanes' plays are known, so that

[1] Published by Welcker *Die griech. Tragödien*, pp. 444 f.

[2] Cf. Koch *Rhein. Museum* XLVIII (1893), p. 238.

there can be no doubt on that score. But in an alphabetical list still extant[1] the *Birds* is numbered thirty-one[2] or, if the spurious titles be omitted, twenty-eight. And in either case, thirty-five is entirely out of the question.[3] Bergk, therefore, proposed to read λ′ or λα′ instead of λε′. Both conjectures (especially the latter) are open to objection paleographically, and the former does not satisfy the demands of an alphabetical list. If the other numerals favored the alphabetical interpretation, we might be justified in accepting Bergk's second proposal,[4] but under the circumstances the theory must fall to the ground.[5]

The oldest and most popular explanation is that these numbers are based upon a chronological enumeration,[6] and is likewise open to grave objection. Though in my opinion this point is not one of much consequence, it has seemed to some that this theory allows too few plays for the earlier years of Sophocles and Euripides.[7]

[1] Cf. Novati *Hermes* XIV (1879), pp. 461 ff., and Pauly-Wissowa II, 972 f.

[2] Counting the second *Peace*, which was inadvertently omitted from the list. This omission explains Bergk's first conjecture.

[3] Nevertheless, Christ seems to accept it, cf. *Geschichte der griech. Literatur*, p. 306, n. 1 (4th ed.). Ranke *De vita Aristoph.*, p. cccxii ff., succeeds in making the *Birds* 35th by counting the Ἀνδρομέδα, Γλαῦκος, Δαίδαλος, Δηλία, Ἐρεχθεύς, and Μητροφῶν among Aristophanes' titles!

[4] Hilberg *ZöG.* XXX (1879), pp. 904 ff., and Körte *Hermes* XXXIX (1904), p. 485, accepted these readings and defended the alphabetical explanation in every case. Hilberg properly rejected Wilamowitz's suggestion (*Hermes* XIV, pp. 464 f.) that Aristophanes' titles are arranged chronologically within the individual letters. For, in that case, how could the Δαναΐδες precede his first piece, the Δαιταλεῖς?

[5] Cf. Dindorf, Oxford edition of Aristophanes II, pp. 524: "Ut . . . . Samuelis Petiti. criticorum infelicissimi, similis habeatur, qui tantum abest ut numeri Avibus tributi admiretur magnitudinem, ut iusto minorem ducat, et primum quidem quadrigesimam fabulam facere cogitet, deinde, ut litterarum quandam similitudinem correctione sua consequatur, duodequadrigesimam esse decernat posito λη′ in Beckii Commentariis Vol. III, p. 354."

[6] Accepted for the *Antigone* by Wex (1829), pp. 6 f. and 35; Bode *Geschichte d. hellen. Dichtkunst* (1839) III, 1, p. 391, n. 7; Böckh (1843) p. 120, n.; Schneidewin (3d ed., 1856), p. 30; Blaydes (1859), p. 443; Nauck-Schneidewin (7th ed., 1875), p. 29; D'Ooge (1893), p. 13, n. 7; Jebb (1891), § 22; Wecklein (1897), p. 10, n. 2; Bellermann-Wolff (5th ed., 1892), p. 2, n. 6; Böckh *CIG* I, p. 350*b*; Welcker *Gr. Tragöd.*, p. 84, n. 25; Ritschl *Rh. Museum* I (1842), p. 76; O. K. Müller (Donaldson) *Hist. of Lit. of Anc. Greece* I, p. 448; Mahaffy *Class. Gr. Lit.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 59; Haigh *Tragic Drama*, p. 183, n. 1; Christ *Geschichte d. gr. Lit.* (4th ed.), p. 240, n. 2; etc. For the *Alcestis* by Bode *loc. cit.*, p. 472 and n. 3; Welcker *loc. cit.*, p. 450; Bergk *Gr. Literaturgeschichte* III, p. 493, n. 89; Müller (Donaldson) *loc. cit.*, p. 449; Klein *Geschichte d. Dramas* I, p. 448; Haigh *loc. cit.*, p. 208; Christ *loc. cit.*, p. 265, n. 2; etc.

[7] So Glum *De Euripidis Alcest.*, p. 8; Mahaffy *loc. cit.*, p. 101; Dindorf's ed. (1834), p. 7, and (1869), p. 13, n. *c*; Woolsey's (1860), p. 58; and Paley's (1872), Vol. I, p. 249.

Sophocles' first appearance was in 468 B. C.[1] and the *Antigone* was produced (probably) in 441 B. C., so that, if it were thirty-second in chronological order, he must have brought out an average of one and a seventh plays *per annum* during this period. Euripides' first appearance was in 455 B. C. and the *Alcestis* came out in 438 B. C. It follows that in these eighteen years (counting inclusively) his average must have been slightly less than Sophocles'. In these results *per se* there is little to surprise us. In fact, if we remember that Euripides began to write plays when he was eighteen, did not get a chorus until he was thirty, when he was awarded last place, and did not win a victory before 441 B. C., we must concede that he did very well in getting so many plays accepted. It is true that we should expect greater productivity in Sophocles, whose career opened with such *éclat;* but perhaps the fact that he was never lower than second in a contest was largely due to this self-restraint at first.

On the other hand, with thirty-two of Sophocles' one hundred and twenty-three plays coming before 440 B. C., we have ninety-one remaining for the thirty-five years between that date and his death in 406 B. C.—an average *per annum* of two and three-fifths. The result for Euripides is similar. In the thirty-two years after 438 B. C. he must have written seventy-five plays, or two and a third a year, but this is the less remarkable, since many of his later works are characterized by hasty and careless execution. Now Aeschylus produced ninety plays between his first recorded appearance in 499 B. C. and the *Orestea* in 458 B. C. (forty-two years), or two and a seventh plays a year; and this average was doubtless higher toward the end of his career than earlier, for in the twenty-seven years between his first victory in 484 B. C. and his last appearance in 458 B. C. came thirteen victories and probably several defeats (certainly one, in 468 B. C.) Furthermore, Sophocles' activity in old age is well attested, so that the absence of deterioration can more justly excite our surprise than the mere fact of his productivity. Moreover, we must remember that at this period there were two festivals a year, where tragedies were produced, whereas previously there had been but one. And although this fact could

[1] Possibly 471 B. C.; cf. Eusebius.

not increase the poets' powers of production, yet the earlier dearth of opportunity and consequent difficulty of obtaining a chorus doubtless had a part in restricting their output. Therefore, this objection to the chronological interpretation cannot be considered a valid one.

A more vital obstacle is found in the difficulty of explaining how the *Alcestis*, the fourth play in its group, could have been number seventeen, and how the *Antigone*, which probably was not the fourth member of its group could have been number thirty-two. Jebb[1] (in a different connection) suggests that the satyric plays may not have been included in the enumeration. But this proposal does not help explain the number seventeen, and the fact that the *Alcestis*, which at least takes the place of a satyric play, bears a number would seem to invalidate it. Nor can the difficulty be solved by means of plays brought out at the Lenaea, where tragedies were not produced by tetralogies,[2] for unfortunately tragedy seems not to have been introduced at the Lenaea until subsequently.[3] Teuffel[4] explained that the *Alcestis* belonged to Euripides' seventeenth group, ignoring the fact that this would leave only twenty-four plays ($92-17\times4=24$) for his later and more productive period, and also ignoring the fact that if the *Antigone* numeral be interpreted in the same manner, Sophocles must have produced one hundred and twenty-eight plays in twenty-eight years and none thereafter! Still more radical is Bergk's solution—for ιζ΄ he proposed to read ικ΄, and in arg. *Antigone* δεδίδακται δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦτο τριακοστόν· δεύτερος (ἦν).[5] These

[1] In his edition of the *Antigone*, p. xlix.

[2] Perhaps this is what Müller (Donaldson) had in mind when he suggested that some trilogies may have been unprovided with a satyric drama, *Hist. of Lit. of Anc. Greece*, I, p. 448, n. 2.

[3] Cf. Capps *A. J. A.* IV (1900), p. 86, who places this event "between 430 and 440." By letter he informs me that "it cannot be placed much before 432." Similarly Reisch *ZöG* (1907), pp. 308 f. (between 425 and 432) and O'Connor *History of Actors and Acting*, pp. 46 f. (about 433).

[4] Cf. *Rh. Museum* XXI (1866), p. 471. See likewise Hadley's *Alcestis*, p. 43, Earle's, pp. 4 f., and Hayley's, p. xix.

[5] Cf. *Gr. Literaturgeschichte* III, p. 493, n. 89, and p. 414, n. 161. His reasons (in the latter case) are as follows: it is generally accepted that the *Antigone* was presented in the spring of 441 B. C., but the *Marmor Parium* informs us that Euripides won his first victory in that year; consequently the *Antigone* must have received the second

arbitrary changes, however, have deservedly failed to gain the approval of scholars. Leaving this problem, then, unsolved for a moment, let us proceed to see how well this chronological hypothesis fits the other instances.

For the *Dionysalexandros* Grenfell and Hunt seem to have been inclined to accept a chronological interpretation, but were deterred by the improbability involved in their supposing the comedy to have been produced in 430–429 B. C. This date is due to the sentence κωμῳδεῖται δ' ἐν τῷ δράματι Περικλῆς μάλα πιθανῶς δι' ἐμφάσεως ὡς ἐπαγειοχὼς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν πόλεμον, which occurs at the end of the hypothesis whence this numeral is derived. It should be noted that what war Pericles is thought of as having brought upon the Athenians is not specified, doubtless because other parts of the hypothesis, in which the year of production and other germane facts were given, rendered this unnecessary. Grenfell and Hunt[1] assume the Peloponnesian War to be intended and consequently assign the play to the years above indicated. To decide this question, we must consider the facts of Cratinus' life as we know them. He died shortly after 423 B. C. at the age of ninety-seven.[2] He wrote twenty-one plays and won nine victories,[3] six at the City Dionysia and three at the Lenaea.[4] Hieronymus and Eusebius mention him under 453 B. C. and his name occurs in the City Victors' List in a position corresponding

prize. That the words of the argument εὐδοκιμήσαντα ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης are not inconsistent with this interpretation may be seen from the similar language of Aristophanes concerning his *Banqueters* (cf. *Nubes* 529 and *schol. ad loc.*), which was likewise awarded the second prize. Furthermore, the number (32) cannot be correct, since the *Antigone* would then be the fourth member of its group (i. e., a satyric play), while with the proposed reading it would occupy the second place. This somewhat attractive suggestion is, however, open to the following objections: (*a*) we need some independent reason for believing the *Antigone* to be number thirty, (*b*) we must remember that some think the *Antigone* to have been produced in 442 B. C.; cf. Christ *Geschichte d. gr. Lit.*, p. 310, n. 7 (5th ed.) and (*c*) the criticism of the numeral is needless, cf. p. 13, below. I may safely ignore the numerous conjectures for the *Alcestis* number (ιζ΄, ιε΄, etc.).

[1] Followed by Körte, Wilamowitz, Croiset, Rutherford, Thieme, etc., cf. Thieme's *Quaestionum comicarum ad Periclem pertinentium capita tria* (1908), pp. 27 ff.

[2] Cf. Lucian *Macrob.* 25, and Capps *Harv. Stud.* XV (1904), pp. 61 f., who places his death "soon after 422/1."

[3] Cf. Suidas *s. v.* Κρατῖνος.

[4] Cf. *CIA* II, 977 *d* and *i*, and Capps *A. J. P.* XX (1899), pp. 390–96.

to about that date. The arrangement of the list would seem to indicate that he won several other victories soon after, and, finally, he produced plays in 425, 424, and 423, when he closed his career with a victory.[1] Thus, his eighth play might well have come as early as 446 B. C.

That Cratinus had already at this general period directed his satire against Pericles is proved by Meineke II, p. 218, where he is charged with dilatoriness in completing the middle wall and *ibid.*, p. 61, where there is an unmistakable allusion to his escape from ostracism in 442 B. C. These were troublous times for Athens. In 447 the battle of Chaeronea cost her Boeotia, and the revolt of Euboea and Megara quickly followed. Moreover, as soon as the five years' truce expired (446), the Spartans invaded Attica. The responsibility for these disasters was naturally placed at Pericles' door by his opponents. The attempt of the goddesses to bribe their judge in the *Dionysalexandros* might well have called forth an allusion to Pericles' alleged bribery of the Spartan king to withdraw his army, and the fact that the country people were now for the first time couped up within the Long Walls might have been referred to in that part of the play where Helen is concealed in a bird-cage (ll. 29 ff.: *καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἑλήνην εἰς τάλαρον ὥσπ[ερ ὄρνιν]*[2] *κρύψας*). In my opinion, however, it is possible to establish a still closer and broader connection between the plot and contemporaneous events. Dionysus, of course, represents Pericles himself and Alexander the conservative leader Thucydides, whose prerogatives Pericles (Dionysus) has usurped. The immense resources at his command would have enabled Pericles to establish his own personal authority over his people (*τυραννίδος ἀκινήτου*, Hera's offer in the bribery scene) or by wise military expenditures to guarantee the stability of the Athenian empire through success in war (*εὐτυχίας κατὰ πολεμόν*, Athena's offer). Recent occurrences might well have seemed to justify Pericles' enemies in believing that he had lost these two chances forever by deciding in favor of Aphrodite. The hypothesis tells us that Aphrodite

[5] Cf. argg. *Acharn.*, *Equit.*, and *Nubes*, and Lucian *Macrob.* 25.

[1] So Körte. Grenfell and Hunt supply *τυρόν*. Thieme *loc. cit.*, p. 16, finds additional support for Körte's reading in Meineke II, p. 42, fr. xii: *χηνοβοσκοὶ βουκόλοι.*

promised that Dionysus should be "most beautiful and most beloved" (*καλλιστόν τε καὶ ἐπέραστον αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν*);[1] and as a result he succeeded in wooing Helen away from Sparta. Of course, the myth hampered Cratinus and the symbolism is less exact and clear than if he had been dealing with a theme of his own invention throughout, but there can be little doubt as to the meaning of Aphrodite's offer—it referred to Pericles' plans for the beautification of Athens. This is not the only place where Athens is compared to a woman. In a passage which Sauppe has correctly recognized as derived from a comic poet Plutarch describes the city at this very period as a wanton decking herself out with costly marbles and thousand-talent temples.[2] If this interpretation is correct, we can understand the meaning of one of the extant fragments (Meineke II, p. 42, fr. ix):

παραστάδας καὶ πρόθυρα βούλει ποικίλα.

Dionysus (i. e., Pericles with his ambitious building schemes) evidently expressed surprise at the simplicity and rudeness of Alexander's mountain quarters and was answered with this sarcastic comment. In the dénouement Alexander hands over Dionysus to the Achaeans[3] and keeps Helen for himself; in other words, Cratinus advises the people to accept Pericles' plans for the city's adornment, since it is now too late to turn back, but to disavow their author and intrust their administration to safer hands. If this explanation seems to attribute too bold an utterance to the poet, it must be remembered that Pericles' name was not yet surrounded with such a glamour as at a later period, that at this particular hour the course of events seemed against him, and, in particular, that the aristocratic party was so confident of success that soon afterward (442 B. C.) they dared to challenge him to the test of ostracism. If the outcome disappointed their fond

[1] Can the reading be *<τὸ> κάλλιστον . . . . αὐτῷ ὑπάρχειν*?

[2] Cf. Plutarch *Pericles* xii and Sauppe *Ausgewählte Schriften*, p. 500, n. 2. There may be an allusion also to Aspasia, whose connection with Pericles began at about this period, cf. Pauly-Wissowa II. 1716 f.

[3] Wilamowitz sees in this a reference to the Spartan demand for his surrender in 432 B. C. We ought not to suppose, however, that this was the first time Pericles' enemies had thought of his descent from the accursed Alcmaeonidae. On the contrary, this step was doubtless merely the *finale* of long years of discussion both at home and abroad.

expectations, it was neither the first nor last instance of such misplaced optimism. Furthermore, such freedom of attack is consistent with the known character of Cratinus' comedy, and the fact that, as soon as Pericles' position was assured (after 442), restrictive legislation was enacted[1] proves earlier excesses. I therefore believe the *Dionysalexandros* to have been brought out in the spring of 445 and think that it may have been Cratinus' eighth play.

Some one may object that this date is too early for such "Mythenparodie" as this play affords. And it is true that this *motif* is more characteristic of the Middle Comedy, and that this is one of the reasons for assigning the *Nemesis* to the close of the century and to the younger Cratinus.[2] But no one would put the *Dionysalexandros* much later than 430—a date twenty or twenty-five years earlier than the new date for the *Nemesis*—and there is no reason to suppose that the *Dionysalexandros* was the first play of this sort. The fact is that owing to the dearth of information before the *Acharnians* negative generalizations are quite unsafe.

The *Aves* numeral has always been a stumbling-block in the way of every interpretation, and it is no exception in this case. It is evident at once that the *Birds* cannot be the thirty-fifth piece Aristophanes brought out.[3] So that the only recourse left adherents of this explanation is to follow the path that Dindorf pointed out long ago: "Ut si quid absurdi edicere videantur, emendanda potius quam eicienda esse pateat." If any solution that would fit the case (even without regard to its suitability in other instances) had ever been propounded, this procedure would be less justifiable; but under the circumstances it is only a question of finding an intelligible and paleographically possible conjecture. As we have seen, advocates of the alphabetical interpretation have made use of this method here, but without satisfactory results. Dindorf, however, proceeded to employ his own

[1] Cf. schol. *Achar.* 67: τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κωμῳδεῖν, γραφὲν ἐπὶ Μορυχίδου (440/39).

[2] Cf. *Harvard Studies* XV (1904), pp. 61 ff.

[3] Nevertheless, some have blindly adopted this explanation, cf. Böckh *CIG* I, p. 350*b* and O. K. Müller (Donaldson) *Hist. of Lit. of Anc. Greece* I, p. 449, n. 1.

advice and in a most convincing manner; cf. his Oxford edition of Aristophanes II, pp. 524 f.: "Est igitur qui in libris traditur numerus λε΄ aperte corruptus et, si quid litterarum ductibus tribuendum, fortasse restituto ιε΄ corrigendus. Ita ad novem, quas Avibus antiquiores esse fabulas ex didascaliis constat, quinque aliae de ceteris accedere debebunt. Eae autem fortasse hae sunt, Γεωργοί, Γῆρας, Εἰρήνη δευτέρα, Ὁλκάδες, Ταγηνισταί. Ceterum λε΄ ne tum quidem verum erit, si fabulas secundum litterarum ordinem numeraverit grammaticus: quod non est verisimile."

Between 427 B. C. and about 388 B. C. Aristophanes wrote forty plays, or one a year. Inasmuch as the *Birds* was produced in the fourteenth year of his career, a priori there is no difficulty involved in supposing it to have been fifteenth in chronological order. For his earlier years we have the following details:

Banqueters	427, Lenaea
Babylonians	426, City Dionysia
Acharnians	425, Lenaea
Knights	424, Lenaea
Clouds A'	423, City Dionysia
Wasps	422, Lenaea
Peace A'	421, City Dionysia
Amphiaraus	414, Lenaea
Birds	414, City Dionysia

To these must be added the unknown piece with which it seems likely that he won a City victory in 425.[1] To the list of plays suggested by Dindorf as belonging to this period must be added the Δράματα ἢ Κένταυρος.[2] For some of these plays there is room between 421 (*Pax A'*) and 414 (*Amphiaraus*), for, although Aristophanes seems to have then been less productive than earlier, there is no reason to believe that this was a period of complete inactivity.[3]

[1] Cf. Capps *A. J. P.* XXVIII (1907), p. 198.

[2] So Wilamowitz. The literature concerning this and the other plays in question is cited in Pauly-Wissowa II, 976 ff. In arg. *Vespae* there is a confused notice concerning Philonides and a Προαγών, which in my opinion ought not to be identified with Aristophanes' play of the same name; cf. Capps *A. J. P.* XXVIII (1907), p. 199.

[3] Cf. Bergk (Meineke II, p. 995): "At vero ad illud tempus, quod inter Vespas et Aves intercedit, fere nullae fabulae referuntur, neque tamen per tam longum temporis spatium prorsus conticuisse Aristophanem consentaneum est;" and Pauly-Wissowa II. 979: "Sicher scheint nur, dass A. zwischen dem Frieden und dem nächst datierbare Stück Amphiaraos nicht völlig pausiert hat, wenn wir auch die Lücke nicht ausfüllen können."

We have thus seen that the chronological interpretation falls short mainly at two points, viz., the *Antigone* and *Alcestis* numerals are somewhat smaller than we might expect (not a serious objection) and do not seem to conform to the tetralogic system used at the City Dionysia. Perhaps a study of the purpose of these numbers would assist us. Böckh[1] pointed out long ago that they were not official but due to private research, but further than this we have not been able to go. We are therefore fortunate in that the *Dionysalexandros* instance has at length made the purpose clear beyond reasonable doubt. This number is taken from an hypothesis. It was not, however, incorporated within it, but stood at the top of the second (last) column as a sort of heading and had doubtless appeared also at the beginning of the hypothesis (now lost). In my opinion, this was the original form of such a notice and shows why in the fuller form of statement found elsewhere a different verb is employed in each case—*ἐποιήθη*, *λέλεκται*, *ἔστι*. When Aristophanes of Byzantium, or whoever was responsible for the change, transferred these items from the heading and made them integral parts of the hypothesis, finding no verb in the original statement before him and resting under the necessity of now using one, he did not deem it essential to paraphrase the information always in the same way, but, as was natural, employed now one expression and now another.[2] If it be true that the original function of the numerals was as we find it in this *ὑπόθεσις*, only one explanation is possible—it is a device for the convenience of some library, probably that at Alexandria. If so, every play in the library would bear a number, and these numbers

[1] Cf. *CIG* I, p. 351*a*.

[2] Consequently, it is inadvisable to press the use of a particular word in any one case, cf. Wex *Antigone*, p. 35: "Fuerunt adeo qui . . . . bis et tricies eam (sc. Antigonam) in scaenam productam esse opinarentur, decepti scilicet male intellecta aliqua Aristophanis grammatici notatione in argumento fabulae, ubi dicit ille: *λέλεκται δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα λβ′*, quod compendium legere illi volebant *δυοκαιτριακοντάκις*;" Wilamowitz *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 133: "At *λέλεκται* illud lucem accipit ab Andronici de Platone verbis *οὗτινος τὰ δράματα τάδε λέγονται*, i. e. in catalogis recensentur;" and Ranke *De vita Aristoph.*, p. clxvii: "Ipsa vox *λέλεκται* satis ostendit, non esse de doctis, sed de servatis lectisque fabulis dictum." This last is in embryo the theory which I have developed in the text; but it is here a mere guess unsupported by evidence, and is further hampered by being yoked with the alphabetical explanation, cf. *ibid.*, pp. cccxii ff. Of course, *ἐποιήθη* lends itself most easily to a chronological interpretation; but the question must be decided upon broader grounds than that.

would run consecutively for each author. In other words, if any play were not represented in the collection, that fact would not be indicated by a gap being left for it in the enumeration. Of course, it is conceivable that the basis of arrangement was purely arbitrary, but it is more probable, until the contrary be proved, that some rational system (alphabetical, chronological, etc.) was employed. Now which system was actually chosen becomes clear when we note that the above statement of the numerals' purpose and use obviates the two objections to the chronological interpretation. For the extant fragments prove that of Euripides' ninety-two plays only about seventy-two were known to the Alexandrians. This test can always be accepted, when the conclusion is positive, and usually when it is negative. Thus, the Roman Didascaliae report that the *Bacchae* of Lysippus was the only play of his preserved and sure enough it is the only one from which we have quotations.[1] Accordingly, we are not surprised to learn from Suidas that seventy-eight plays of Euripides (four of them spurious) were preserved.[2] If the *Alcestis* was seventeenth among this number and retained the same relative position as in the original list, it must have been about the twentieth play Euripides brought out, which number (being a multiple of four) would be suitable for the last play of a tetralogy. Similarly, the hundred Sophoclean plays, which are preserved in whole or part make it seem likely that the *Antigone* was about the thirty-ninth play that he produced. These figures are, of course, mere estimates, but they have the merit of assigning a slightly larger number of plays to the earlier years of these poets and of affording a reasonable solution for these two misfit numerals. In the case of Cratinus and Aristophanes the fragments indicate that all their comedies were still extant in ancient times, and consequently these two numerals are not altered by the proposed interpretation.[3] Of

[1] Cf. *IG* XIV. 1097, and Capps *Class. Phil.* I (1906), p. 219, l. 9 and note.

[2] Cf. Pauly-Wissowa VI, 1247.

[3] If the date I have assigned the *Dionysalexandros* should prove to be incorrect, that fact would not necessarily invalidate my interpretation of its numeral, for, (1) as only about a dozen of the twenty-six titles which Meineke accepted under the elder Cratinus' name are indisputably his, it is possible that several should be assigned to the younger poet, that not all the elder Cratinus' twenty-one plays were known to the

course, to render this hypothesis absolutely certain, one ought to arrange in chronological sequence such plays of these poets as the Alexandrians knew and to prove that the *Dionysalexandros* was eighth in Cratinus' series of twenty-one, the *Aves* fifteenth in Aristophanes' series of forty-four, the *Antigone* thirty-second in Sophocles' series of about one hundred, and the *Alcestis* seventeenth in Euripides' series of seventy-eight.[1] But our meager didascalic information puts such a procedure entirely out of the question, and we must be content to have shown that such a theory satisfies the general probabilities of the case.

The question at once arises where second versions would be placed in such an enumeration as we have been considering. If the second version had actually been produced, its number would naturally correspond to its chronological position. But if it had merely been published and were included in the library collection, it would still have to have a number, and I am of the opinion that, no matter how long an interval had intervened between the production of the first version and the publication of the second, the latter's library number would immediately follow that of the former. Such a supposition would explain the source of the misinformation in arg. V *Nubes*. The extant fragments and the fact that the differences between the two versions are so clearly distinguished in arg. VI prove that both were preserved in Alexandrian times. The anonymous author of arg. V correctly tells us that the first *Clouds* was produced at the City Dionysia in 423 and was awarded the third place, and then incorrectly adds that Aristophanes brought out the second edition in the following year and was still less successful (*ἀποτυχὼν πολὺ μᾶλλον*). Anonymous probably reasoned as follows:

Alexandrians, and that the *Dionys.* was eighth (chronologically) among those preserved, or (2) it is possible that Cratinus was much more productive than is commonly supposed, that only twenty-one of his plays were known to the Alexandrians, and that thirteen preserved plays belonged to the period after 430–429.

[1] Extant fragments prove that the Alexandrians were acquainted with Euripides' *Pleiades* (with which he made his maiden appearance), and *Cressae*, *Alcmeon in Psophis*, and *Telephus* (which came out with the *Alcestis*). These plays, then, would be numbers 1, 14, 15, and 16, respectively. He is known to have won his first victory in 441, and there is no doubt that these plays (or some of them) are represented in our fragments, if we only knew how to pick them out. The satyric plays would probably be the first to disappear, cf. arg. *Medea*.

My edition of Νεφέλαι Α′ bears such and such a number and the records show that it was third in 423. My edition of Νεφέλαι Β′ bears a number larger by one than the other, but the Didascaliae say nothing about it. The numeral indicates that the second edition came out the year after the first. I explain the silence of the records by supposing that, although the practice of having five poets compete at a time obtained,[1] it was at this time the custom to record the names of only the three highest contestants. Therefore, I conclude [we may represent Anonymous as saying] that in his second attempt Aristophanes fared still worse than before and was awarded fourth or fifth place.

We thus obtain an adequate and plausible explanation for an error that has caused scholars much trouble.

It remains to point out that such an arrangement as I have suggested would not have seemed an unnatural thing to the ancients. Terence's plays, for example, are not only arranged in that way in our MSS but are given numerals on that basis in the Didascaliae. It is interesting to note that there was some uncertainty as to what should be done in the case of a play that failed and was repeated, like the *Hecyra*. The MSS arrangement ignores the first production of that play (after the *Andria*), when it was scarcely more than begun, and gives it a position corresponding to the second exhibition (after the *Phormio*); doubtless because on this second occasion a considerable portion of the play was presented, although it was not produced *in toto* until the third attempt (after the *Adelphoe*). Nevertheless, the didascalic numeral assigned the *Heauton* is III, as if the first exhibition of the *Hecyra* were to be counted. The *Eunuchus*, however, is likewise given the number III, and the other numerals follow its lead. The Terence numbers, of course, trace back the system only to the Romans and to about the time of Varro. Aeschines' speeches, however, are also arranged in this way, so that there is no doubt the Alexandrian Greeks were familiar with such arrangements. Wilamowitz's objection,[2] "At haud probabile aut certe non probatum est apud scaenicos Graecos umquam eandem disponendi rationem usu venisse. catalogi enim, unicus, unde aliquid

[1] Both before and after the Peloponnesian War the number of competitors seems to have been five, but for a time in the interim only three, cf. Capps *Class. Phil.* (1906) p. 219, n. on l. 5.

[2] *Analecta Euripidea*, p. 132.

sciri potest, fons nullum ordinem norunt praeter eum, qui ex litteris principalibus titulorum fabulas digerit (*κατὰ στοιχεῖον*)," overrides the very evidence we have been considering.

To summarize: If we follow Dindorf in reading *ιε΄* for *λε΄* in arg. *Aves*, the numbers are capable of a uniform interpretation. They were a library device and were assigned the plays represented in the Alexandrian collection according to the date of their production. A second version of a play, if only published and not actually produced, was given a number immediately following that of the first version—a practice which explains the error of Anonymous arg. V *Nubes* concerning the second *Clouds*. At least nineteen plays of Euripides preceded the *Alcestis*. Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* was probably brought out in 445 B. C.

APPENDIX

There are still two other numerals which used to be considered in this connection: and although they are now commonly disregarded and I have made no use of them in the preceding discussion, I do not feel free in a paper of such length to neglect them entirely.

1. Bekker *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 430. 15: *ἀπολογίσασθαι καὶ ἀπολογίζειν τὸ ἐπεξελθεῖν ἕκαστα. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ θ̄ Γήρᾳ.*

ἐγὼ δ' ἀπολογίζειν τε, κρτ' ἐπ' ἀνθράκων.

This condensed manner of citing the numeral has naturally aroused suspicion. Accordingly, Dindorf (II, p. 583) deleted the phrase *ἐν τῷ θ̄*, and Meineke (V, p. 61 f.) accepted Fritzsche's reading (*ἀπολοπίζειν* for *ἀπολογίζειν*) in the quotation, and saw a fusion of two separate notices—the first is complete and ends with *ἕκαστα*; the rest of the text belongs to the *lemma ἀπολοπίζειν*, which had accidentally fallen out. For *ἐν τῷ θ̄* Meineke substituted *ἐν τῷ ο*, which has reference to the spelling.[1] These changes were accepted by Kock (I, p. 425) and Blaydes (*Fragmenta*, p. 65). But however attractive they may be, we must remember that so short a quotation gives us no idea of the context and that without a context emendation must proceed with extreme caution. In any case, however, this numeral (if such it is)[2] need not concern us much, since it is capable of both an alphabetical and chronological interpretation.

2. Photius, p. 426. 12: *πέτευρον· πᾶν τὸ μακρὸν καὶ ὑπόπλατυ καὶ μετέωρον ξύλον· Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ ε̄.* Pollux x. 156: *πέτευρον δέ, οὗ τὰς ἐνοικιδίας ὄρνιθας ἐγκαθεύδειν συμβέβηκεν, Ἀριστοφάνης λέγει, ὥσπερ καὶ κρεμάστραν ἐν ταῖς Νεφέλαις.* Bothe[1] seems to have been the first to bring this passage into the discussion and from the comparison with the Pollux passage drew the very natural inference that ε̄ referred to the *Clouds* in a chronological arrangement—*Banqueters* 427, *Babylonians* 426, *Acharnians* 425, *Knights* 424, and *Clouds* 423. The difficulty is that, while *κρεμάστρα* occurs in the *Clouds* in the form *κρεμάθρα* (l. 218), *πέτευρον* apparently does not; and it has accordingly been cited among the *fragmenta fabularum incertarum* by Dindorf II, p. 696; Meineke (Bergk) II, p. 1218; and Kock I, p. 582. Two problems confront us and it would be well to consider them separately: (*a*) does *πέτευρον* occur in the *Clouds* and, if so, (*b*) does *ἐν τῷ ε̄* refer to the number of that play or merely to the spelling of the word (*πέτευρον*, not *πέταυρον*).

Does *πέτευρον* occur in the *Clouds*? Ranke[2] long ago proposed to change *Nubes* 226:

ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ ταρροῦ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπερφρονεῖς

so as to read:

εἶτ' ἀπὸ πετεύρου κτλ.

This is going too far, but in my opinion Ranke has indicated the path to follow. Possibly *πέτευρον* is not a genuine Greek word at all but merely a corruption introduced into the text (and incidentally the language) through a failure to observe that the last letter of *ἔπειτ'* was elided. The resulting coinage naturally gained some circulation, but outside of the lexicographers (Pollux, Photius, and Suidas) the word does not occur half a dozen times and then always in the later literature. The alternative spelling (*πέταυρον*) lies nearer †*ποταρρου*† paleographically and was probably the original form, *πέτευρον* being due to a supposed connection with *εὕδειν*.[3] Photius, of course, simply borrowed the phrase *ἐν τῷ ε̄* from some older authority, and if ε̄ here really is a numeral, it could easily have been misunderstood in ancient as in modern times and so hastened the change to the spelling *πέτευρον*. If we believe the corrupted text to have read *ἔπειτα πεταύρου* where the genitive is ablatival (cf. *ὄχου*, Soph. *Oed. Rex* 808), my explanation gains plausibility. But however this may be, I think there can be little doubt that Pollux and Photius had this line of the *Clouds* in mind. This conclusion is confirmed also by the similarity of their explanations with that of the scholiast *ad loc.*[4]

[1] Cf. Photius, p. 230. 19: *λοπίζειν· οὐ λεπίζειν.*

[2] It is still cited as such by Christ (Schmidt) *Geschichte d. griech. Literatur*, p. 403, n. 2 (5th ed.). Cf. Süvern *Über Aristophanis Γῆρας*, p. 24.

[1] *Aristophanis dramatum fragmenta* (1844), p. 44, where is likewise a partial anticipation of Meineke's interpretation of the *Γῆρας* passage.

[2] *De vita Aristophanis*, p. cdli. Ranke's conjecture is cited with halting approval in Teuffel's edition (1856), p. 14.

[3] Cf. Suidas *s. v. πέταυρον· παγίς· βάθος· σανίς· οἷον πέτευδον, παρὰ τὸ εὕδειν ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ πετεινά.*

[4] Cf. sch. *Nubes* 226: *ταρρός· μετέωρόν τι ἴκριον ἐφ' οὗ αἱ ἀλεκτρυονίδες κοιμῶνται* (Rutherford) and the Pollux passage in the text. Note also *μετέωρον ξύλον* in Photius.

Does *ἐν τῷ ε̄* refer to the number of the *Clouds* or to the spelling of *πέτευρον*? Opinions differ. Bergk thought *ε̄* a numeral but that the *Clouds* was not the play referred to.[1] There is a pronounced tendency, however, to believe that the phrase has reference to the spelling.[2] This view is certainly possible, although a cursory examination of a portion of Photius has not yielded me a precise parallel. Hilberg cites *σινάμωρος· ἐν τῷ ᾱ, οὐχὶ σινόμωρος*. But of course this is infinitely more explicit than the instance under consideration, and the same objection can be lodged against the nearest parallels my hasty search discovered. Cf.[3] *ἀδαξῆσαι· τὸ κνῆσαι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ ⟨ō⟩ ὀδαξῆσαι . . . . Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ὀλκάσιν*, and *ἀλοάσαντα· ἐν τῷ ᾱ Φερεκράτης Ἰπνῷ . . . . ἀλοῆσαι ἐν τῷ η̄*.

On the other hand, parallels to justify interpreting *ε̄* as a numeral are little more convincing. Plays are regularly cited in the dative case either with or without the preposition *ἐν*. Sometimes the two constructions occur side by side, cf. *ἀμυγδαλῆ . . . . Ἕρμιππος Φορμοφόροις καὶ Φιλήμων ἐν Μύστιδι καὶ Δίφιλος Τελεσίᾳ*. But, of course, no numerals are used in this connection. They are employed, however, in referring to the books of histories, dialogues, etc., cf. *ἀγῶνα· Θουκυδίδης ε̄· "προελθὼν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα" κτλ.* [Thuc. v. 50]; *ἀναθολῶσαι· ἀναταράξαι, Νόμων ζ̄ Πλάτων* [*Laws* 824*b*]; *ἀθυμία· Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῷ ᾱ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ τὴν ἀτυχίαν λέγει* [Herod. i. 37]; *αἱμασιά . . . . δηλοῖ δὲ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ᾱ* [Herod. i. 180]. These parallels, though not entirely satisfactory, are yet close enough to prove that *ε̄* might possibly be a numeral. Further than this it is neither possible nor necessary to go. The *Clouds* may have been Aristophanes' fifth piece, though, if so, we must reject the City victory in 425. The important point is that the chronological interpretation can readily accommodate itself to the possibility of the *Clouds* being Aristophanes' fifth play. To the supporters of the alphabetical explanation, however, such a possibility is disconcerting, since in an alphabetical list the *Clouds* would be number twenty-seven.[4]

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[1] Meineke II, p. 1218; contrast p. 1000.

[2] Cf. Dindorf II, p. 696; Hilberg *Zeit. f. öster. Gym.* XXX (1879), p. 906; Kock I, p. 582.

[3] All the Photius quotations that follow are taken from the new text published by Reitzenstein *Der Anfang des Lexicons der Photios*.

[4] Professor Capps suggests the following: the original text was ΕΝΤΩΙΝΕΦΕΛΑΙΣ· ΔΡΑΜΑΤΙ, which was shortened to ΕΝΤΩΙΝΕ̄ and then corrupted to ΕΝΤΩΙΕ̄.